

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

Vol. 46.—No. 10.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 7, 1823. [Price 6d.

Published every Saturday Morning, at Seven o'Clock.

TO THE

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

*On his Charge to his Clergy; and particularly on the Politics of that Charge.*

Kensington, 5 June, 1823.

BISHOP,

It was, many months ago, my intention to publish some remarks on what I deem a very arrogant and what every one must deem a very stupid production, put forth by you under the title, "*A Charge*" to your Clergy. You, who complain of the "*licentiousness* of the press," should be cautious how you use that press yourself. At any rate, you will hardly deny, that, if you use it in the censuring of others, others have a right to use it in examining your *pretensions to superiority*, and especially to superiority in knowledge relat-

ing to *politics*. This thing, called "*A Charge*," is, in fact, *an attack upon the People of England*. You say, it was published at the unanimous request of your "*brethren*;" and that is very likely; but that does not take away my right to remark on it; and this right I am now about to exercise. Your brother *POULTER*, who is a *justice of the peace* as well as a *rector* and a *prebendary*, has lately hinted, that people ought to be prosecuted for *libel*, if they publish certain things relative to *parson-justices*. He, perhaps, will say, that I am taking a "*licentious*" liberty with you now; but, Bishop, if you appeal to the *press*, by the decisions of the press must you abide.

You set out with requesting the attention of your clergy to observations on subjects, suggested by the connexion which exists between you and them, by the *awful character of the times* in which we live, and the actual *state of religion* in this country. As to the first, your exhibition is by no means an uninteresting one, as

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Printed and Published by J. M. COBBETT, No. 183, Fleet-street.

far as relates to the non-residence of the clergy. There are, in your diocese three hundred and forty-seven incumbents, two hundred and six only reside upon their livings; and that there are forty-six benefices in which there is *no resident clergymen at all!* This is a pretty good picture of a diocese, in which the clergy receive very little short, perhaps, of half a million a-year. One of the sins imputed to the Roman Catholic church, was, that the convents took away the great tithes from the parishes, and left nothing to support the poor and to keep hospitality. What shall we say, then, of this church which is come in its place? It not only gives nothing to the poor and nothing to keep hospitality; but, in about two fifths of the instances, it gives, in return for its immense revenue, its enormous exactions; it gives in return for all these not even a resident parson of any description. We see, that here are forty-six benefices which have not even a resident curate; so that one seventh part of the whole of the benefices have no "*spiritual guide*" at all; though the benefice is given to the incumbent, on account of his contracting to take care of souls. He has the *care of* *ouls*, as it is called; that is to say,

he undertakes to look after souls, so that they may not be lost. He most solemnly declares that he will have constant care of them; and yet, the moment he has got the living, away he goes to some watering-place or some fox-chace, perhaps, and leaves the souls to take care of themselves.

However, I shall have more to say of this by-and-by, when I come to your complaint against the People of England, or rather, your attack upon them, on account of what you call their reluctance to acknowledge superiority. I shall next notice what you say with regard to the *awful character of the times* in which we live. It is curious enough to observe this alarm about the awful character of the times. For about two-and-twenty years we were at war on account of the awful character of the times. When that war was over, we were promised tranquillity, safety, every thing that was good. Our dangers were all to be at an end when we had put down the French. If we would but fight on till the French were subdued, and the Bourbons restored; then all was to be tranquillity, safety and happiness. We fought on till the Bourbons were restored. The nation payed, and the clergy prayed. That never-

to-be-forgotten deed, the banishment of Napoleon to St. Helena took place; and yet, Castlereagh has since cut his throat, and, we live in "*awful times!*"

Your words upon this subject are so remarkable, that I shall insert them here, in order to avoid the charge of misrepresentation.

"The awful character of the times in which we live may justly be considered as originating from that *extraordinary revolution*, which took place in *a neighbouring kingdom* at the close of the last century, when principles were for the first time publicly propagated, which *threatened destruction to every civil and ecclesiastical establishment* throughout the world. Though, through the *wise exertions of our Government*, under the *favour of Divine Providence*, those principles made less progress in these dominions than in most other countries of Europe, yet we were far from entirely escaping the general infection; and though we are no longer suffering under the evils and horrors of war, or apprehensive of any formidable disturbance of public tranquillity, the return of peace has not brought with it the *full enjoyment of our former comforts*

*and blessings.* The storm has indeed ceased, and left the main pillars of our constitution standing erect and uninjured; but its long continued violence has in some degree *impaired the foundation*, upon which alone Government can safely rest—has *shaken and weakened that system of subordination*, without which human society cannot exist. Some of the seeds of *irreligion and anarchy*, which were so profusely and industriously scattered, fell upon ground, where they have taken root, and are now bringing forth their natural and bitter fruits. Every engine having been set at work, which could mislead the wayward will of man, pervert his understanding, or inflame his passions, and all the restraints of power and authority, so necessary to hold in check the turbulent propensities of the human mind, having been loosened, an immediate restoration of things to their original state could scarcely be expected. A spirit is still manifest among us, producing *an impatience of control*, a reluctance to acknowledge *superiority*, and an eagerness to call in question the propriety and expediency of *established forms and customs.*



“ These effects must be obvious  
 “ to those, who recollect the state  
 “ of sobriety in this island before  
 “ the promulgation of the *disor-*  
 “ *ganizing principles* of the *mo-*  
 “ *dern philosophy* ; and this un-  
 “ favourable change in our na-  
 “ tional habits and sentiments,  
 “ this tendency to discontent, dis-  
 “ affection and disorder, this re-  
 “ laxation of the bonds of civil  
 “ and religious obligation, may be  
 “ most effectually counteracted by  
 “ the *judicious exertions of the pa-*  
 “ *rochial clergy.*”

This, Mr. Prettyman, or Tomlin, or whatever your name may be, is but a very poor story ; for, what does it amount to ? To this : that, the principles of the French revolution threatened destruction to every civil and ecclesiastical establishment in the world. That, by the *wisdom of our government*, and by the favour of *Divine Providence*, we escaped absolute destruction ; that, peace has not, however, brought us back to our old state of *subordination* ; and that a spirit is still in existence amongst us, producing impatience of control, and a reluctance to acknowledge superiority. This is, I say, a poor story. I believe just the contrary of what you appear to believe, about Divine Providence. I believe, that, whatever

Divine Providence wishes to come to pass, it causes to come to pass ; and I believe that Divine Providence broke up the lazy priesthood—the lazy, debauched, cruel, insolent, robbing clergy of France ; and that it was Divine Providence that favoured the gallant people of that country when they took the tithes, and all the immense landed property from the lying, persecuting, fire-shovel crew.

It is very true, that “ peace has not brought with it the *full enjoyment of our future comforts and blessings.*” No : it has left us with taxes to pay to the amount of sixty millions a-year, instead of about thirteen millions a-year. It has not brought to the people their former comforts and blessings ; and these they will never enjoy again as long as tithes are paid in England. We have to pay for the war, for that war, which you applaud. You talk of the *horrors of war* ; and what do you mean then when you talk of the “ *wise exertions* of our government ?” Certainly you mean the exertions, which the government made by war : you mean its war-like exertions. And what right have you to expect that the nation is to enjoy the comforts and blessings, which it enjoyed before it contracted a debt of eight hundred



millions, and before it beggared the labourers of the kingdom; before it made a third part of the people paupers, in order to carry on an unnecessary, unjust, most wicked and most malignant war? You call that a "*wise*" war: you speak of the wise exertions of the government: was it wise to contract a debt of six hundred millions with jews and jobbers; another hundred million and a quarter with a dead weight; another hundred million and a half in perpetual pauper-rates: was it, Bishop, wise to do all this? You will say it was; or, that, if this had not been done, the war could not have been carried on; and, if the war had not been carried on, *tithes would have ceased in England nearly thirty years ago!* Dreadful calamity to be sure; but, do not complain, then; for, we cannot have the enjoyment of the antient comforts and blessings of the country, and the enjoyment of the tithes too. A dear church, indeed, ours is to us! It has cost us more to reform our church and to uphold it, than religion ever cost all the nations in the world put together. It has something to cost us yet; but, at any rate, if we choose to contract debts, and make the people paupers for the sake of pre-

serving a system of tithes, let us not complain of the consequences of the debts. It was because the French put down tithes that we went to war with them. This was the real ground of the war. They had a king; they had every thing except tithes; but the moment they abolished tithes, that moment our THING resolved on war. The tithes in England are, in fact, enjoyed by those families that I need not particularly point out. The tithes are enjoyed by those who *fill the seats*. We talk about the *church*, about the *clergy*; about the *spiritual persons*; about the *visitations*; about the *deans* and *chapters*; about the *holy orders*; and about God knows what besides; but the fact is, that, at bottom, stripped of all its covering, here is an immense mass of property, which is enjoyed, in fact, by the same persons that have those other *precious possessions*; those pure and precious possessions, which it is unnecessary for me more fully to describe; what a folly then to suppose that war; aye, eternal war would not be carried on, if war tended to preserve the tithes, and the rest of that property commonly called church property. If the Bourbons could be got back again, there was hopes that the *tithes*.

*could be got back*; but here the devil played the church a trick. The Holy Alliance thought, doubtless; the Holy Alliance, with the cut-throat Castlereagh at its head, thought, doubtless, that the tithes would come back in the suite of the Bourbons. The cut-throat gentleman was mistaken: the tithes have not come back in France; and, to this very circumstance it is, Bishop; to this very circumstance above all others it is, that the times have an "*awful character*." An awful character for you; but a character full of lively hope for the people at large.

Feelingly do you observe, that the *long continued violence of the storm* has *shaken and weakened* the system of subordination. Very feelingly, I dare say, you make this observation. Thanks to the gallant French nation, the storm did continue a long while. Thanks to them, the very foundations of despotism in that country were not only rooted up; but the *materials were destroyed*. It was impossible to re-construct the thing. To re-establish tithes, and to restore church-property, required a thumping miracle indeed; a *real* miracle; not a little piece of legerdemain; and, in short, it required more than the

combined despots with their million of bayonets and with six hundred millions of English money were able to accomplish. Therefore it is that you are not in the enjoyment of your former comforts and blessings. The whole thing is shaken. The brave and sensible people of France gave the whole thing a shake, and there is not a priest in the world who does not detest them for it.

It is impossible that England should long continue to pay so many millions a year to support a church establishment, while she sees such a kingdom as France paying not a farthing on that account. When you talk of the "*awful character of the times*," and pretend to be alarmed at blasphemers; when these appear to occupy your mind, you surely do not overlook the pretty little circumstance, that landlords, as well as farmers, in their numerous most loyal petitions, have ascribed their ruin in great part to this: that *they have tithes to pay and that the French have not*? They say, we are ruined, because we cannot meet the French in the market; and we cannot meet the French in the market; because we have tithes to pay and the French have not, and we have to

pay the interest of a debt, contracted for the purpose of upholding our church, while the French are free from such payment. This is what the landlords and farmers of England say. This is what makes the times "awful" to them: they are not alarmed at the "*disorganizing principles of modern philosophy*:" they care nothing about irreligion and anarchy; to talk to them of the relaxation of the bonds of religious obligation, and to talk to them of the evils of the time being put an end to by the exertions of the parochial clergy; to talk to them in this way is perfectly useless: one of them is full of anxiety for his estate, and the other for his capital, both see that the French revolution has exposed the present landlords and farmers of France to no danger of losing either the one or the other; and therefore, Mr. Bishop, a pretty many Charges will you write, before you will persuade them to be alarmed at the ruinous effects of irreligion and anarchy. They see clearly that the nation of "*blasphemers*" are not ruined; and they themselves wish not to be ruined. Infidelity here or infidelity there, say they: disorganize or not disorganize, that is the best state of things which does not take the

estate from the landlord and the capital from the farmer.

The state of France, does, in fact, constitute the principal danger of the enormous church establishment of this kingdom. Pressed down by this establishment, it is impossible for England long to carry on a competition with the French. Here are about twenty thousand parsons, big and little, with all their wives and all their children, constantly fixed on upon the carcass of this nation. They form, altogether, a body of a hundred thousand people, the far greater part of whom belong to those who fill the seats. These must all be provided for. They are all to be gentlemen and ladies. No matter what they are, in mind or in body, they must be provided for; and this is one great cause of the decline of this country. Now, our rival, France, never was oppressed to this extent from this cause; because its clergy had not droves of wives and children. Bad enough themselves, in all conscience; but the nation was not saddled with the maintenance of their sons and daughters. And now the nation is saddled with nothing worthy of the name of expense on account of religion. All the real property of the church is taken away. It is impossible



for us not to make comparison incessantly between our own state and the state of France in this respect. We cannot look across the channel without feeling shame at our comparative degradation. The clergy know very well what must, in the end, be the effect of such comparison made by us: hence it is, that they are so uneasy; hence it is that they talk so incessantly of the "*awful character of the times*:" hence it is that they are everlastingly endeavouring to represent the state of France as a state of misery, and that they are warning us to avoid such misery. To counteract their exertions, every man who has the talent and who can spare the time ought to be active. Nobody has yet given us a good plain and true account of the state of the people in France since the restoration of the Bourbons. We want this very much. Not a loose or general description; but a detailed comparative view of the state of the people in the two countries. The Bourbons are restored; but, let us know what this Bourbon government really is. Let us go on point by point, and compare the effects of that government with the effects of this government. You say that the "*wise exertions*" of our government, and the favour

of Divine Providence, *preserved* us in a certain way. We are to conclude, that the French nation had not the advantage of this wisdom; had not the advantage of wisdom like that of our Ministers, acting under the favour of Divine Providence. Now, then, I want, most monstrously, to know precisely how that people is situated which have been deprived of the benefit of the wisdom of PITT, and of the favour of Divine Providence; and this, I trust, I shall know to a certainty before this day six months. This is the sore place, Bishop. This it is that makes you uneasy. This it is that makes you talk about the awful character of the times. I believe that you know, full as well as I do, that the people of France have derived the greatest of all possible benefits from their revolution; and that, amongst all those benefits, none has been a thousandth part so great as that of putting an end to the execrable church establishment, during the existence of which, that ingenious and gallant nation were a set of wretchedly degraded slaves.

I wonder, Bishop, that you should have talked of revolution, in a censorious style, seeing, that a revolution is now actually going on in England, and a revolution,

too, the consequence of our wars to put an end to the revolution in France. But, passing this over, let me ask you what you mean by the "*reluctance to acknowledge superiority*?" You are very shy in pointing at the particular parties here. You probably mean that people in general have this reluctance; and we may be pretty well assured, that it is ecclesiastical superiority; that it is the superiority of parsons, of priests, of bishops, that you have in view. And let me ask you, then, upon what you found your claim to superiority over the people at large. Is it on the immense sums of money that you receive while you live such very easy and comfortable lives? Is it on account of that strict discharge of your duty, a pretty picture enough of which you yourself have given us? Superiority in what is it that you mean? Scarcely in learning; that is to say, in literary attainments; for perhaps there is no body of persons in this whole kingdom less entitled to respect on this account, than the clergy of the established church. Is it on account of their diligence in the ministry? You yourself seem to place your chief hope, not upon them, but upon the Society for PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, of which Society I

shall have a word to say by-and-by. In short, this lamentation of yours, that the clergy *are not respected*, is a pretty good proof, that, generally speaking, the fault cannot be *in the people*. It was never yet known, that the people of any country in the world did not know their own interests, and did not, in the long run, pay respect to those who merited respect. The want of respect towards the clergy can be ascribed to nobody but themselves; and, indeed, how is this want to be wondered at, when it is shown, even by yourself, that so large a portion of them never so much as *see* the people over whose souls they have pledged themselves to watch? People must be beasts indeed not to be able to compare these professions with the practice of the parsons; and, making this comparison, can the result be different from what it is?

Amongst the infamous persons of the day, where do we find the *most infamous*? Can any part of the community show us any thing to equal *Percy Jocelyn, the Right Reverend Father in God, the Bishop of Clogher*? This, say you, was but *one*; aye, but it was *one* out of *forty-four*! If the whole of the community were like this, what would become of us?

What would the world say of us? Who would have any communication with us? Ah! Bishop, you may *complain*, as long as you please, of the "*reluctance to acknowledge superiority*;" but we shall not be in haste to acknowledge superiority in a body, one of whom could do as JOCELYN did, and escape as *Jocelyn escaped*! We see Mrs. CARLILE imprisoned, and *delivered in a prison*: we see Mr. CARLILE's sister imprisoned, in fact, *for life*, seeing that the *fine* put upon her it is *impossible for her to pay*. We read, in the *Bill of Rights*, that "*excessive fines shall not be imposed*." We see a fine of *five hundred pounds* imposed upon a young woman who has not a shilling; and see her imprisoned, *until the fine be paid*! This we behold, on the one hand; and, on the other, we see the brother of the late *Earl of Roden*, and uncle of the present *Earl of Roden*, and brother of the *Honourable John Jocelyn*; we see this man, charged, on the oaths of seven witnesses, with a crime, which all nations have punished with death, and which God punished by fire and brimstone, poured down from the sky on the heads of the offenders: this JOCELYN, thus charged, we behold let off with a

bail bond of *five hundred pounds*: this JOCELYN, this uncle of the EARL OF RODEN, this DOCTOR OF DIVINITY, this COMMISSIONER OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION, this RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, with a public-money income of many thousands a-year: this man, or, rather, this monster; this JOCELYN is let off, is let go at large, by giving bail to the amount of *five hundred pounds*! And, which crowns the whole, not a word is said about this affair by any one, no not by *any one*, of the famous "*representatives of the people*!"

A pretty loud whisper tells us, that *Cambridge* will have some interesting news for us at the next *Assizes*. I will not anticipate here; and, indeed, I need not; for the country will soon be made fully acquainted with all the horrid facts. And yet we are to be abused, the people at large are to be abused, because they have "*a reluctance to acknowledge superiority*!" Bad enough, quite disgraceful enough, quite enough to sting us to the quick, to be compelled to *pay* such men as *Jocelyn*. This is more than sufficient without the additional obligation of acknowledging his superiority. No, no, Bishop; we shall acknowledge no superiority with-



out due consideration. The French taught the world to hold *names* in contempt. This is a part of the effects of the French Revolution that will not be removed even by writings like your "*Charge*." And that is very hard too!

You may complain, Bishop; you may rail yourself, and recommend the railings of the *Christian Knowledge Society*; but you will never make us believe, that we shall be *dammèd* because we see in their true light the transactions relating to the Bishop and the Soldier. We are amused with your strenuous recommendation to supply us with *suitable books*; we are still more amused with your opinion, that it is necessary to instil into us a sense and habit of *submission*; and, we laugh out right when we hear you add, that this (habit of *submission*) "will enable us to defy all the machinations of *domestic foes* to subvert our *constitution*, or disturb our internal tranquillity, and all the exertions of our foreign enemies to deprive us of our prosperity and *glory as a nation*." What *writing*! But, you are not only a priest, but a *bishop*, and, of course, you defy criticism.

This is a curious notion: *foes*, domestic and foreign, set at *defiance* by a *habit of submission*!

Not the best way, one would think, of setting people at defiance. The meaning is, that, if the people will but give up the whole of their earnings *quietly*, those who get the earnings will be able to keep the *jacobins* down and to keep out foreign enemies at the same time. This must, doubtless, be a *great comfort* to those who give up their earnings! They do, however, now-a-days, ask, what they are to *get* by the keeping down of the *jacobins*, if they be to give up the whole of their earnings (except enough to keep them just alive) to the persons who are to keep down the *jacobins*. The case is this: here is JOHN CLODPOLE, with a bit of bacon and bread that he is going to eat. The tax-eater comes and says, "Give me the bread and bacon, and I will *protect* you against the *jacobins*: *submit* to me; let me see you in the *habit of submission*; and I will enable you to set at *defiance* your domestic foe, the *jacobin*, and of your foreign foes too."

CLODPOLE. Thank you with all my heart; but, what do you mean by *protecting* me?

TAX-EATER. Mean! Why, what a beast you must be!

CLODPOLE. Pray, do not be

abusive, Sir. May I not ask you what you mean by *protection*?

TAX-EATER. Why, *protection* means the state of being *kept from injury*; and, as the jacobin aims at your *ruin*, I propose to keep you from it, and, therefore, to protect you.

CLODPOLE. Thank you kindly. But, what do you mean by *ruin*?

TAX-EATER. Why, you know nothing at all. Do you not know what *ruin* means? Did you never hear talk of *ruin* before?

CLODPOLE. Oh! yes! I have heard of ruin often enough. I have heard about the jacobins *ruining* us, and I have heard about the French *ruining* us; but I cannot understand how they could do it. I have not been able to discover how they could ruin me.

TAX-EATER. I am afraid you are a *bad one*! Not see how they could ruin you! Not see how that CARLILE, for instance, has been endeavouring to ruin your *soul*, to destroy your *peace of mind*! Not see how the French were, for so many years, trying to destroy our holy religion!

CLODPOLE. Aye, aye; to be sure they may as well let these things alone; but, here is no *ruin*. I always thought that *ruin* meant *nakedness*, and *want of victuals*;

and, as you propose to take away my bacon and bread, and to put me to work in a gravel-pit with an old sack on my shoulders, and with hay-bands round my legs, I think that you propose to do as much as the Jacobin and the French both together could do for me.

TAX-EATER. What, then, you think, I suppose, nothing at all of what that *venerable* old man, Mr. GEORGE ROSE, called the "*blessed comforts of religion*?"

CLODPOLE. Oh! yes: I do. But I think of *eating* too; for, if you take away my bacon and bread, the comforts of religion will be but cold. In short, I must *eat*; and, if you have such a pious desire to serve and to save me, *why ask for my bacon and bread*?

TAX-EATER. Why ask for the *bacon and bread*? Oh! you sacrilegious, rebellious, blasphemous, atheistical monster! I leave you to the Exchequer in this world, and to Hell in the next. (*Exit.*)

The reflections of CLODPOLE need not be put upon paper. This is, I assure you, Bishop, the train of thinking that is passing in the minds of the people of England. They are not now to be frightened out of their wits, by

stories about *atheists* coming to take their religion from them. They know of no "*domestic foes*," except those who take their earnings from them, who strip the decent clothes off their backs and legs, and dress them in old sacks and hay-bands. These are the only "*domestic foes*" that the people of England now know any thing of; and, as to national *glory*, they have had their fill of that. To "*subvert the Constitution*" are words that they do not understand any longer, because they no longer know what the constitution is. They have seen the *Bishop admitted to bail*: they have seen the *Soldier admitted to bail*: they have **NOT SEEN EITHER BROUGHT TO TRIAL!** They have seen the **SOLDIER**, who belonged to the Foot-guards; whose regiment was quartered in a barrack at London: they have seen this man **LET OUT OF PRISON AND NEVER MORE HEARD OF!** Where were his *officers*? Did he *desert*? Was he *discharged*? How did he get out of the *kingdom*? Talk of "*a reluctance to acknowledge superiority*," indeed! What? are we to acknowledge superiority in *any one*, belonging in any way whatever, to a **CONCERN**, during the existence of which this Soldier went off

in this way? There lies Mr. CARLILE and his SISTER to rot in gaol for having *published opinions* hostile to the Christian Religion. There lies JOSEPH SWANN, now in the *third year of his imprisonment*, he having been by the Justices of Cheshire, sentenced to be imprisoned for *four years and a half*, for having sold "*irreligious*" pamphlets, and having been present at a Reform Meeting. There they are. They are rotting, wasting away, in prison; and the *Bishop and the Soldier*, on whose crime God rained fire and brimstone, are *not even brought to trial!* A bird can hardly escape the vigilance of the *port-spies* of this country. What a rummaging for poor artificers, who are escaping from starvation! And yet the *Bishop*; aye, and the **SOLDIER** too, *got clean away.*

Well, say you; but what has all this *to do with my Charge*? To do with your *Charge*? Why, it has every thing to do with it; for the Charge calls upon us to be in the *habit of submission*; and promises us, as a reward, to preserve the "*constitution*" for us; and, therefore, it becomes us to find out, if we can, *what this constitution is*. To know what it is, we must look at its *effects*; and here we find the affair of the *Bishop and the*



*Soldier.* If we be told, that this affair was not an effect of the "*constitution*," we answer, that if the constitution mean that sort of *government*, or *sway*, or *rule*, or *power*, that prevails here, it is under this **THING**, call it by what name you will, that the *Carliles* and that *Joseph Swann* are in prison, and that the *Bishop* and the *Soldier* are at large. This is quite enough for us; for we cannot easily see how a "*subverting of the constitution*," or any thing else, could produce any consequences more striking than those which we have beheld.

Before you published an exhortation to us to be *submissive* and to *acknowledge superiority*, and these, too, in order to prevent "*domestic foes*" from subverting the *constitution*, you ought to have made an attempt, at least, to show us, that, to *lose* the constitution would be *injurious* to us; and you have made no such attempt. We, however, are in the habit of supplying all deficiencies of this sort, which is a habit full as good as that of "*submission*." We have looked well at this affair of the *Bishop* and the *Soldier*; we have in our eye the amount of the bail; we see that **NO TRIAL** has taken place; we see that even the soldier *walked clean off*,

though his *officers* and his *bar-racks* were close by the *police-office*; we see all this pass, and we find **NOT ONE SINGLE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT** to ask the Ministers a question on the subject. Why, this is enough for us. We want nothing more. We have no means of putting an end to such a state of things; but, as to "*acknowledging superiority*," as to the "*habit of submission!*" We know, that there are bishops, and, we know that there are soldiers: we say little about either; but, as to "*acknowledging superiority*;" as to this, in such a state of things, it is a little more than we thought even a parson's conscience would expect. Say no more, Bishop, about the "*constitution*:" we know what it is; and, which is something new, *other nations* begin to understand it too, which is a great advantage to them as well as to us.

I now come to that curious part of your *Charge*, where you speak of the *Society for promoting Christian Knowledge*. It seems rather strange to hear a Bishop recommending to his clergy to employ, in the teaching of the people, the *pamphlets* of a self-created Society, wholly unknown to either the civil or ecclesiastical law. They have promised to take

care of the souls themselves, and pretty well are they paid for it. They have parsonage - houses, glebe-land and tithes, as payment for their care of the people's souls; and you bid them employ the pamphlets of that impudent, that brazen-faced crew, that slandering band, called "The Society for promoting Christian Knowledge," who are, as LORD GRENVILLE once called them and proved them to be, a set of factious political intriguers. Their pamphlets, which you call TRACTS, are full of *falsehoods* and *calumnies*. And these are the productions which you recommend your clergy to distribute amongst the people. Your lamentation on account of the *reading* amongst the people is too remarkable to be passed over without quotation: "It is a *melancholy truth*, that the word of God, intended for the salvation of man, may be handled deceitfully, even to his eternal ruin; and therefore as the Scriptures are now in the hands of almost every one, the clergy are loudly and imperatively called upon, carefully to *explain those parts*, which at the present moment are most likely to be perverted, and anxiously to guard their flocks from *falling into those dangers with which they*

*are surrounded*. It is not enough that the Scriptures are read—they must be *profitably read*; and nothing will so much contribute to that profitable reading as the accompanying them with our incomparable Liturgy, and with a proper selection of those *excellent Tracts* which are furnished by the *Society for promoting Christian Knowledge*—that *correct expounder* of evangelical truth, that *firm supporter of the Established Church*."

This SOCIETY has put forth, and is now constantly putting forth, publications *against the Roman Catholic religion*. Now, if you approve of these Tracts, what do you mean by your censures on the *French Revolution*; seeing that one of the great objects of that Revolution was to put down the Roman Catholic religion? The impudent Society has put forth, and lately too, no less than fourteen publications against the Roman Catholic faith; and yet, you praise this Society, and, at the same time cry out against the French Revolution. Ah! Bishop; it was that glorious *shaking*, the French Revolution, that put the whole thing to the test. *Our priests* had, for more than two hundred and fifty years, been railing against popery. The pope was, with



them *Antichrist* and the *Scarlet Whore*; but, the moment the pope was attacked *by men who were for abolishing tithes*, and who did abolish them; that moment our priests began to *pity* and even to *praise* the pope, and to abuse, as if they had been common thieves and murderers, those who were for putting down the pope! What a change! Bishop Horsley (in a Charge too) called upon us to receive the banished French priests with open arms, and he said that they were *better deserving than Protestant dissenters*! What a change! The priests of Antichrist and the Scarlet Whore received with open arms by those who had always been accusing them of teaching *damnable doctrines*! Damnable as those doctrines were, however, they do not appear to have been *so* damnable as the abolition of tithes! Oh, monstrous! We were, from our infancy, told, that the pope was *the Whore of Babylon*, and that the Romish religion was *idolatrous* and *damnable*; and, when there arose a set of men to put down this idolatrous and damnable religion, we were, by these same priests of ours, told, that these men were guilty of *sacrilege* and *blasphemy*! It was now *sacrilege* to put down, or to attempt to put

down, what had, for ages, been held to be *damnable*!

This was a complete exposure; but, it was such to sensible and observing men only. The main part of the nation were hurried away by the false alarms and by the prejudice and passion excited by the artful knaves who profited from the fraud. The cry of *sacrilege* and of *atheism* and *blasphemy* carried the greater part of the people willingly into a war that was finally to pauperize and enslave them, and, indeed, to produce a total revolution of property. Here, Bishop, we come back to the old point: the war never could have been ventured on, had the hypocrites not set up the cry of *sacrilege* and *blasphemy* and *atheism*. The fact was, the French had put down a priesthood, which our priests had always told us taught idolatrous and damnable doctrines. The French had put down a *damnable thing*, at any rate; but, alas! they had put down *tithes* along with that damnable thing; and, therefore, they were called *sacrilegious* monsters and *blasphemers*. This cry it was, that *whooped* the English people into the war; but, God be praised, this cry cannot do away the *debt*, the *dead-weight*, and the *pauper score*, which that



war created. The war was *for tithes*: it has, *hitherto*, preserved them in this miserable country, and that more miserable country Ireland; but, it will finally destroy them; it will finally *do the very thing which the war was intended to prevent from being done*; and this in spite of all that can be said or sung by the bishops and all the Tract Societies in England.

"We are not to forget, that the advantages of education, like every other earthly blessing, may be abused, and even turned into a curse. It is impossible to teach children to read the Bible, *without at the same time enabling them to read those insidious and mischievous publications*, which are calculated and designed, either entirely to destroy their faith in the Gospel, or to give a wrong interpretation of its doctrines and precepts." Very true, Bishop. It is, indeed, quite impossible to teach children to read your *tracts* without, at the same time, teaching them to read *other things*, and especially those which you call "*insidious and mischievous*." The publications about the *Bishop and the Soldier*, for instance; the account of the *last Will* of your predecessor, who left such an enormous sum after having heaped prodigious riches

on his family; the petition of *Farmer Deller*; and such like "*insidious things*;" and they may have to read a short *history of you*, which would be by no means *unentertaining* or *uninstructive*. You may try as long as you please; but you will never succeed in preventing the reading of these "*insidious*" things. What a pity, that no parson can invent a law to make people unable to read any thing except *tracts in favour of tithes*! This seems to be the grand thing: something to show the *wisdom*, the *justice* and *necessity* of giving from six to eight millions sterling a-year to a set of men *for teaching what God himself has caused a book to be made to teach all the world*, and which he himself says is *so plain*, that the wayfaring man, though a fool, shall not err in it.

I meddle not with the *religion* of your Charge: it is the *politics* of it that I deem worthy of notice. You call upon your clergy to exert themselves here, though in the opinion of most people, they never ought to meddle with such matters. They are to teach the people politics, and are thus to lay the "*surest foundation of tranquillity and order*," and erect the firmest barrier against "*anarchy and confusion*." One cannot write these

words without *laughing*. An old man should write with this object in view. He thinks he is still in *Anti-Jacobin times*; those glorious times of Pitt and Plunder, and Loyalty Loans, and Voluntary Contributions! The war to prevent "*anarchy and confusion*" lasted twenty-two years against the people of France. We had nearly nine years of *war in peace*, or *civil war*, since that. What we have now got in *Ireland*, I do not know how to name. Certainly it is not much like peace. It is that "*constitution*," perhaps, which you are afraid of seeing subverted. A trial is making to restore peace to *Ireland* by *commuting tithes*.—Abolish them. That is the way to restore peace to any country where they exist.

But, in fact, why this talk about "*anarchy and confusion*?" Why make a talk about it? If we be now in danger of anarchy and confusion, what have we expended ten hundred millions of tax, and contracted nine hundred millions of debt for? Ah! it is this debt, together with the dead-weight and the pauper score, that *alarm* you. There are no open discontents in *England*; there are none in *Ireland* that an *army* cannot put down: but this DEBT is not to be put down. It is an object of incessant

terror to all the savage ruffians who have been playing their pranks for the last thirty years. They see, in this debt, a something which they cannot tackle; a something that must, in the end, subdue them. Debt, boroughs, tithes; all are bound together. "*Anarchy and confusion*" mean whatever endanger this trio; but, in danger they are, and the danger, in spite of all that can be done to prevent it, will go on steadily increasing; because a state of things is now come, which makes the interests of the concerns *opposed to each other*. Jew, boroughmonger, and parson, were all cordially united as long as the paper, the *Pitt-paper System*, lasted. But, now, the union is, in some sort, dissolved. The jew will have his *bond*; the boroughmonger wishes the jew's throat were cut, and the parson is ready and willing to *pray over* both; for he sees, that the life of either is not likely to be compatible with his safety. Something must *give way*: rents, tithes, or debt, must *go*: nay, two out of the three may *go*; and it is the opinion of most men that the tithes will go first.

This, Bishop, is the real source of alarm to the clergy: this is the darkest spot in the "*awful character of the times*." There is



refunding as well as funding: there is disgorging as well as gorging: and, if these remain wholly unknown in England for only a few years longer, I, for one, shall be very much astonished. As to foreign affairs, this country is now nothing. It has no weight, and it will have none. It has a terrible convulsion to experience, and this may come at a moment, when it is expected by no man. You all manifestly feel as if you were sitting on gunpowder. Your minds are full of alarm; and well they may; for a debt of a thousand millions was never yet rubbed out, without many other things being rubbed out along with it.

I would, in conclusion, notice some few of the specimens of grammar, which you have given us in this Charge; but, I leave these for a time of more leisure, and shall merely add an expression of my opinion, that it would be wise in bishops to abstain from putting forth publications, unless more modest and sensible than that on which I have been remarking. An account of all the clergy in your diocese; of their names, of the names of their patrons, of the interest which they have had, of the number of livings each has, of the conduct and character of each, of the justice-of-peaceships, held by them: this account would be of a little more use than such a thing as your Charge. I should like to know what punishments each has inflicted in his capacity of justice of the peace. I should like to have them all down on a muster-roll; so that they might, at any moment, be called over. Of all drama, the parsons have been the most active. Indeed they felt, that their all was at stake; but, it is not less at stake now than it has been at any time within the last thirty years. They have, however, this comfort; that the thing cannot remain long undecided.

WM. COBBETT.

### IRISH TITHES.

A Bill is passing through the House of Commons for a Commutation of the Tithes in Ireland. The regulations of this Bill are too numerous to be stated here; but the principles of it are these; that money shall be paid in place of tithes in kind for the next one-and-twenty years; and that the



rate of payment shall be according to the average price of grain during the seven years preceding the year 1821. This will be a *half*, and not a tenth. The average price of grain during the seven years just mentioned, was more than twice as much as the average price will be for the next one-and-twenty years. The Honourable House seems to pay no attention to the circumstance of a recent rise in the value of money; or, perhaps, it thinks, with that profound person Sir THOMAS LETHBRIDGE, that the present prices of corn indicate that things are *come about*. The Honourable House, amidst all its mistakes, never made a greater mistake than this; but it is a matter of very little consequence: it is taking from the landlord, to give to the parson; and, for my part, little do I care which of the two be most pinched. Between them they have brought the country into a situation such as country never was in before; and, unless it be relieved from this situation, what else may happen to it is of no earthly consequence. It is curious to observe, however, how this thing works. It is a question between the landlord and the parson. If the parson get as much for his tithes as he got be-

fore, that can give relief to no other party. To talk of tithes as a burden; to talk of being relieved from the burden of tithes; and then to pretend that you do not want to give the parson less than you give him now, is prodigious folly; or it is hypocrisy not less prodigious. It never can be that the parson can have less without his receiving some injury; and some injury he must receive, or there can be nothing of that which is called relief from the burden of tithes. The truth is, however, that the landlord wants to get some rent, and he can get none. He hopes to pinch something from the parson. Some little he may pinch; but, upon the whole, here is nothing done here; for what the Normans gain with one hand, they lose with another. It is good sport, however, to see the landlords and parsons plucking at one another, when the fingers of both of them itch to be at the fundholder.

The jew holds them both at bay, by threatening them with the Radicals; and most assuredly, they never can touch the jew without bringing the Radicals upon them, unless they themselves first make a Radical Reform. They are fairly caught in their own trap. The jew, to whom they re-

sorted in order to get the means of crushing jacobinism for ever; that same jew now holds them to their bargain, and will squeeze out of them the last penny, unless they call the jacobin in to their assistance; and who is to be security that he will not trample upon the necks of them both.

It is thought by some that the boroughmongers would, in their present difficulty, give way, if they could get a *Bill of Indemnity*. To talk of a *Bill of Indemnity* for them, after all that we have seen since 1816, is to be somewhat bold. Boroughmongering is infinitely greater villany than fraudulent forging or house-breaking. It is in fact high treason, and of the worst kind too; and has produced more calamities in the world than any other species of high treason ever produced. It is not surprising, therefore, that the perpetrators should have little inclination to give up any part of their means of self-defence. Give it up, however, they must; and, for their own sakes, the sooner they do it the better.

This commutation of tithes is, in fact, a proof, that the System cannot hold. This is laying the pickaxe to the base of one of the main pillars of the System. Here is the principle acknowledged and acted

upon, that, this species of property is public property, as much as barracks, or cannons, or soldiers' horses are. The Irish parsons may think that they are driving a good bargain; and they may, perhaps, for themselves; but the whole System receives a blow. There will be no more talk about plundering the church, at any rate; for here is an Act which actually takes all the tithes away from the church, and gives the parsons money in lieu of them.

Having once fixed on the sum which each parish is to pay, nothing will be so easy as to call for returns of the several sums. We shall then know how much the parsons get, and shall know where to go to, in case of pressing necessity. This is by no means the first Act of Parliament making free with what is called church property; and it certainly will not be the last. That which is so very good a thing for Ireland, cannot be a very bad thing for England; and, in short, that man must be blind indeed who does not perceive, that the affairs of the church, at any rate, are about to experience a *radical reform*. It was high time. They have long stood in need of such reform. The clergy have long stood in need of something to engage their attention and withdraw



them from those pursuits, which the far greater part of them have been engaged in for many years past.

Far be it from me, however, to pretend to believe, that this measure will have even the most distant tendency to better the lot of the labouring classes in Ireland. In the debate on the Irish Insurrection Act, Mr. VESEY FITZGERALD said, that the evils of Ireland arose principally from causes over which the government had no control. One of these was, that the labouring classes lived so entirely upon potatoes. Now, as I observed in my last Register, it is the misery of the people that brings the use of potatoes. That the use of potatoes brings misery is also true. Poverty compels a man to sleep in a lousy bed. The biting of the lice is suffering to be sure; but that which made the man poor was the cause of the biting of the lice. Thus it is with Mr. VESEY FITZGERALD's case, the potatoes degrade, most horribly; but that poverty, that misery, that incomparable wretchedness, which never did exist without bad government; this matchless wretchedness is the cause of the use of the potatoes.

But, whether the potatoes or the misery be the original cause of

the present state of the people in Ireland, can any one believe that that state is to be rendered better by a commutation of the tithes? If the parson get as much as he got before out of the sweat of the wretched people, how is that wretched people to be bettered by the change? If he get less than he got before, is there man upon earth so stupid as to believe that which he loses will not go into the pocket of the landlord? What is wanted, is, an ABOLITION OF TITHES. Not an abolition, however, for the benefit of the landlord only; but for the benefit of the whole of the community. Tithes are things which belong to the people at large. They are as much public property as the crown and corporation lands are. They are now held for the benefit of a few. They ought to be sold, redeemed, and applied to the uses of the nation at large; and by no means to be given up to be pocketed by the landlords, to whom they do not belong. The tithes; the crown lands; and all the lands in mortmain; the whole of this property brought to the hammer, together with some little matters that might be looked up, and that really ought to be brought to the credit of the nation, go nearly the full length of paying off the national debt



upon the principle of *equitable adjustment*. I can hardly believe that this commutation is not looked upon as a beginning in this good work. That it may proceed and prosper, I pray God. Then, whatever ministers of religion we have, we shall have purely from their love of religion. They will then be, probably, not above all suspicion; but they will, at any rate, not be suspected of having taken up the calling from their love of tithes. A suspicion from which, owing to the ill nature of the world, some of them are not now entirely free.

### GAME LAWS.

THE Bill, upon this subject, has passed a second reading in the House of Commons. It ought to be called the *Game Excise Law*; for, it makes game a sort of licensed or excised commodity. No one has proposed a clause for throwing the expenses of maintaining and punishing poachers, and maintaining poachers' wives and children; no one has pro-

posed a clause for throwing this expense upon the monopolizers of the game. If this Bill were to pass, all our houses would be liable to be rummaged in order to find out if we had smuggled game. Coaches would be liable to be stopped and rummaged; and, in short, such scenes would be witnessed as have never yet been witnessed even in this taxed and harassed and worried community.—The Report, on which the Bill is founded, contains facts the most scandalous that can be conceived. Thousands upon thousands of pounds have been received by fellows calling themselves country gentlemen; great mean stupid fellows; and who have been, for years past, little more than *game purveyors* to the jews. One man, of this description, is said to have sold game to the amount of a thousand pounds a-year, though the rent of his manor did not exceed four hundred a-year. This man has been a real purveyor; a mere collector of choice morsels for the jew

whom, perhaps, he had to pay the whole rent of his land as the interest of the mortgage which they had upon it. This Bill will immortalize the landlords of England. They are doing nothing, the public will perceive, to soften the code. All the severities remain. All the provisions which cause the bloody fights between the poachers and the gamekeepers; all the dreadful powers of the Justices of the Peace: all these remain. What is now about to be done is, to make it legal to sell game; but to confine the sale to the landlords that are what is called qualified men. Here is no provision for allowing the man to kill and sell the game, who breeds and feeds the game; but, here is security provided for the exclusive enjoyment, and sale, and profit; here is a security of these to those who, in more than one half of the instances, have had nothing to do in the breeding or the feeding of the game.

## LADIES' BONNETS.

**THE EIGHTH** Number of **COTTAGR ECONOMY**, which was mentioned in my last Register, was published on Saturday last. It has a little Plate containing a representation of those three which I deem the best sorts of Grass. If the weather hold fine, I shall begin to cut grass and to bleach it, at Kensington, on the sixteenth of June. In the meanwhile, I wish to engage one or two able platters, and also a person who understands the knitting of the plat together. Application may be made at No. 133, Fleet Street, where the terms will be received and an answer given.

## BOURBON WAR.

*Papers laid before Parliament, April 14, 1823.*

(Continued from p. 572.)

Your Excellency will not understand these observations to be made with any view of inculcating the proceedings of the French Government, with which abstractedly, we have no concern.

I would recall M. de Chateau-

VIII.—Sir William A. Court  
to the Secretary's Chamber—Re-

Madrid, Jan. 16.

Nothing of any material import-



briand's attention to the situation in which the French Government has placed itself towards Spain by the manner in which her first alternative for war has been propounded—only for the purpose of impressing upon the French Government the necessity of not omitting any fresh opportunity, however little promising they may deem it, for again stating to Spain the grounds of their dissatisfaction and the nature of their demands.

The French Government desires to assure itself of the safety of the Royal Family of Spain, and of a disposition in the leading Members of the Cortes, as well as of the Government, to turn to advantage any occasion that may occur, or that can be created by a prudent and gradual course of measures, for the remedy of the defects in the Spanish Constitution: a channel is now opened to the French Government for endeavouring to arrive at those assurances. A precipitate removal of the Royal Family from Madrid—would be the instant and infallible consequence of the march of a French army across the frontier. If the amendments in the Spanish Constitution are absolutely necessary, and it is hopeless to bring about those amendments otherwise than by arms, has the French Government chalked out to itself the course by which a successful invasion is to be made to lead to the desired result? The occupancy of Madrid, as repeated experience shews, is not the dominion of Spain. The King and the Cortes will be established elsewhere, and what is then to follow but a continuance of civil and foreign war, spreading misery and devastation over the whole kingdom!

These considerations your Excellency will suggest to Monsieur de Chateaubriand, in a tone of perfect amity and good will; with the assurance of the most entire persuasion, on the part of His Majesty's Government, that the pros-

perity and tranquillity of France are objects in which Great Britain has, herself, the deepest concern. It is seen and acknowledged here, and acknowledged with no feelings but those of congratulation and satisfaction, that every year's continuance of peace to France, must consolidate more and more her political institutions, and promote those improvements in her interior condition and resources, which assure to her the high rank that she holds among European nations. But in proportion as we feel this sentiment sincerely, we deprecate the fearful experiment of a war, in which there is so little to gain by success; and at a hazard which appears to us as imminent as unnecessary.

The immediate object however of your interview with M. de Chateaubriand, is to bring before him the overture from M. de San Miguel; to offer His Majesty's Minister at Madrid as a channel of communication with the Spanish Government; and to assure the French Government of the anxious desire of His Majesty, to promote, in that or in any other way, the attainment of such a settlement with Spain, as France may deem consistent not only with her safety but her honour.

This despatch will be delivered to your Excellency, I hope, on Sunday; so that you will have an opportunity of communicating to M. de Chateaubriand the Spanish Note, the day before the meeting of the Chambers.

I trust the new opening which it affords for discussion and possible accommodation, may be felt as some relief to the French Government, under the difficulties of their present position. I am, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING.

No. XVIII.—Sir William A'Court to Mr. Secretary Canning.—Received Jan. 26.

(Extract.) Madrid, Jan. 16.  
Nothing of any material import-



ance has occurred since Mr. Jackson left Madrid.

There is a party labouring hard at the present moment to bring about the publication of a general amnesty. I shall do every thing in my power to forward the adoption of this measure, by representing the favourable impression it will not fail to produce throughout Europe.

No. XIX.—Sir Charles Stuart to Mr. Secretary Canning.—Received Jan. 26. (Extract.) Paris, Jan. 23, 1823.

I saw Mr. de Chateaubriand yesterday. He told me that the Duke of San Lorenzo had communicated to him the instructions which had been laid before the Cortes; that he must admit the moderation with which M. de San Lorenzo had spoken respecting the situation of the two Governments; but that a conciliatory tone is assumed by the Agents of Spain, which does not prevent the adoption of principles the most incompatible with the tranquillity of Europe, by the Government and the Legislature of that country; that at the moment they admit all the defects of their Constitution, their readiness to concur in measures to produce a change, and their wish for the publication of a general amnesty; their societies are the most active in their endeavours to organize revolt in France: in short, that the enormity of the evils resulting from war, is not to be compared with the consequences which must result from intrigues. The French Ministers have no means of preventing during the continuance of peace. Without questioning the sincerity of the efforts of His Majesty's Government to maintain peace, he is convinced that it is impossible seriously to press the subject on the Spanish Government in sufficient time to lead to the result we desire. The language of the French Ministers

shows that they would be glad to avail themselves of the publication of an Amnesty, accompanied by any change, however trifling, if brought about by the authority of the King of Spain, which might enable them to avoid a Declaration of War.

No. XX.—Mr. Secretary Canning to Sir William A'Court. Foreign Office, Jan. 26, 1823.

Sir,—Mr. Jackson arrived here on Tuesday night with your despatches of the 12th of this month; and on Friday that gentleman was re-despatched to Paris with instructions to Sir Charles Stuart, founded on M. San M.'s note of the 12th inst. requesting the good offices of His Majesty for the prevention of war with France. A copy of these instructions his Excellency is directed to transmit to you by Mr. Jackson, and to apprise you of the result of his execution of them.

Since Mr. Jackson's departure for Paris, I have received your despatch of the 15th instant, and therewith despatches from Sir Chas. Stuart, which appear somewhat more favourable to the preservation of peace, than any of the late reports from Paris.

As you will receive by Mr. Jackson intelligence from Paris of five or six days later date, and so much the more important as the Meeting of the French Chambers will have taken place in the interval, it is useless for me now to speculate on events, which will be to you, when this despatch reaches you, matter of positive information.

I shall therefore at once proceed to state the course which you are to follow in either of the two possible alternatives.—1st, Of the Government of France having decided for war; or, 2dly, Of its having consented to avail itself of the opening presented by M. San Miguel's Note; and to make known

through you to the Spanish Government, the conditions on which it may be prepared to withdraw its Army of Observation.

In the former case, you have nothing to do but to profess anew His Majesty's fixed determination to maintain during the war a strict and impartial neutrality; always ready at the same time to listen to any call for the renewed interposition of his good offices; if balanced success, or a reviving sense of common danger and mutual interests, shall better incline the contending parties to accommodation.

In the other case, you will probably receive from Sir C. Stuart a statement of the terms which the French government deem indispensable, either for their honour or for their safety, in breaking up that system of precaution, the continuance of which operates as a bar to pacification: and the time will then be arrived, at which you can, without the suspicion of a dictatorial or an uncalled for interference, press earnestly upon M. San Miguel a frank and friendly opinion, in support of such of those terms as appear to you to be not unreasonable. The Amnesty which, if issued in the King's name, would as it appears from Sir C. Stuart's despatch of the 23d, be satisfactory to the French Government, it is unnecessary for me to instruct you to urge; since you have informed me of your intention to urge it to the utmost of your power. Neither you nor the French Government have overrated the effect which such an act would be likely to produce throughout Europe.

To liberate the Person and Family of the King not only from danger, but from the appearance of restraint,—to give something like force and free will to the actions of the Executive Power—to rescue the deliberations of the Cortes from the overawing influence of the Clubs—are, next after the Amnesty, (which should

perhaps precede them all) the alterations of the most desirable, and those which would give the greatest confidence to foreign Nations.

These and any other objects of the same sort and with the same tendency, we are now, after the clear and practical proofs which we have given of our indisposition to claim any thing as of right, or to enforce any thing by menace, for the amendment of the Spanish Constitution, warranted to recommend, with all the earnestness which is prompted by our tried friendship for the Spanish Nation; by our experience of the practice of free Government; and by our conviction of the sufferings, and the perils which must be derived to Spain and to Europe from a war.

So long as our voice might have been confounded with those of other Powers, who took a different measure of their right of interference,—or with that of France, whose exhortation was accompanied with denunciations of hostility, we abstained from advising, rather than incur the imputation of attempting to control. But, now that the possibility of such misrepresentations is at an end, we cannot see the obvious dangers into which the present course of Spanish affairs is leading a brave and gallant people, and be silent; without abandoning the duty which is prescribed, no less by the obligations which international Law imposes upon friendly States, than by the peculiar ties which connect Great Britain with Spain.

You will keep Sir C. Stewart constantly informed of the course of your discussions with the Spanish Ministry. I am, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING.

No. XXI.—Mr. Secretary Canning to Sir Wm. A. Court,

Foreign Office, Jan. 28, 1823.  
Sir,—I inclose to you a copy of the



Official Answer\* from His Most Christian Majesty's Secretary of State, to my Note of the 10th instant, a copy of which I inclosed to you in my despatch of the same date.

This note was delivered to me yesterday by M. de Marcellus. I cannot better explain to you the opinions of His Majesty's Government upon it, than by inclosing to you a copy of a despatch† which I this day address to Sir Charles Stuart. I am, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING.

\* No. 14 of the Verona and Paris papers.

† No. 15 of the Verona and Paris papers.

No. XXII.—Sir Charles Stuart to Mr. Secretary Canning.—Received January 30.

(Extract.) Paris, Jan. 28, 1823.

I received your dispatches of the 24th inst. on Sunday evening. I immediately called upon M. de Chateaubriand, for the purpose of communicating to his Excellency the note from M. de San Miguel, under date the 12th instant; and on the following morning I went over the reasoning contained in your letter, with a view of pointing out to the French Minister, the necessity of not closing the door against an overture, which offers the only remaining chance of maintaining the tranquillity of Europe.

The French Minister told me, that the substance of M. de San Miguel's paper, had already been transmitted to him from Madrid; but that it had not been communicated to him sufficiently at length to show that M. de San Miguel merely demands the dissolution of the Army of Observation, without holding out any hope whatever of a concession upon points which menace the vital tranquillity of this country; though he must be well aware that, in the present situation of affairs, no French Minister would be bold enough to propose such a measure, unless it should

be justified by a corresponding concession on the part of Spain.

He added that, under these circumstances, the King is compelled to assume a decisive tone in his discourse to the Legislative bodies; and that in announcing the cessation of the diplomatic relations between the two Governments, it is necessary to show that they cannot be re-established until the origin of the mischief, with which the Spanish Revolution menaces neighbouring countries, has been removed; by assimilating their institutions to those of other limited monarchies, under an Act on the part of the King of Spain declaring the constitution to emanate from the crown.

He hoped the anxiety of my Government to maintain peace, would induce you to instruct Sir Wm. A'Court to convey these sentiments to the knowledge of the Spanish Government; and to impress upon the Ministers the expediency of not refusing to admit the only measure of which it is possible, in the present situation, to take advantage, with a view to the attainment of that object.

No. XXIII.—Sir Charles Stuart to Mr. Secretary Canning.—Received January 30.

(Extract.) Paris, Jan. 28, 1823.

Sir,—I inclose a printed copy of the Speech which His Majesty the King of France pronounced from the throne upon the assembly of the legislative bodies this morning.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES STUART.

The Right Hon. George Canning.

No. XXIV.—Sir Charles Stuart to Mr. Secretary Canning.—Received February 2.

(Extract.) Paris, Jan. 30, 1823.

Having sent off a messenger on Tuesday, at the moment a printed copy of the Speech from the Throne was put into my hands, I was unable to make any observations



upon that subject in my despatch of the same day.

Monsieur de Villele, whom I accidentally met on Tuesday evening, appeared surprised to find that I did not consider the language of the Speech perfectly in unison with the tenor of his Excellency's former assurances. He said, that the violent alternative, to which the King refers, is mentioned in a conditional sense.

I could not but express my regret, that this public manifestation of demands for such changes in the Spanish Constitution, as the leaders in that country would hardly be persuaded to attempt, should not leave His Most Christian Majesty the means of receding from the position in which he has been placed.

Notwithstanding the strong evidence of preparations for hostilities, I find both this Minister, and his colleague, M. de Chateaubriand, continue to answer the representation of the consequences which must result from a rupture, by assurances that they do not participate in my uneasiness upon the subject, because they yet continue to entertain hopes the war will not take place.

No. XXV.—Mr. Secretary Canning to Sir C. Stuart.

Foreign Office, Feb. 3, 1823.

Sir,—On the same day on which your Excellency's despatches of the 28th, one of them inclosing the Speech of the King of France at the opening of the Chambers, arrived here, M. de Marcellus called upon me for the purpose of communicating a copy of that document.

In making this communication, M. de Marcellus took occasion to declare the unabated desire of his Government for the preservation of peace; to renew in a more precise and formal manner their request of His Majesty's good offices for that object; and to express their hopes, that our intervention at Madrid

might yet avert an extremity, which (it must be confessed) the language of the French Speech, unaccompanied by a commentary, might have been understood to announce as unavoidable.

Such an intimation from the French Ministry, at the moment when the decision of the King of France for war is the subject of general regret and alarm, places His Majesty's Government in a situation of great embarrassment; an embarrassment which is the more sensibly felt by them, on account of the necessity of making some disclosure of opinion in the Speech to be delivered from the Throne, at the opening of the Session of Parliament. On the one hand, His Majesty's Government would not willingly either risk the misfortune, or incur the responsibility, of closing, by any act of theirs, the door the French Government say is still open. On the other hand, the sense of the suspensive and conditional particle in the Speech of the King of France, on which the possibilities of peace are supposed to hang, is so much obscured by the ambiguous character of the condition with which it is connected, that it is very difficult to estimate its real value.

It has become necessary on this occasion, to reconsider maturely the position in which His Majesty's Government stands towards that of France.

The answer which has uniformly been given by the British Government to the questions put by France, as to the course which His Majesty would pursue in a war between France and Spain, has been, that no opinion could be formed on that point, in the ignorance in which His Majesty's Government were as to the causes of complaint which France might have against Spain. Nothing has even yet been precisely stated to them on that subject. General danger

from the nature of the present political institution of Spain; danger to the King and Royal Family of Spain; attempts on the part of the Spanish Government to corrupt the minds of the French people, and to seduce the soldiers of the Army of Observation: these, coupled with the undeniable facts of three or four occasional violations of the French territory, constituted the sum of grievances which have been alleged, at different times, against Spain by the French Government, up to the publication of the Speech of the King of France.

In charges such as these, especially when argued (as some of these were at Verona) only as the grounds of a system of defensive preparation, His Majesty's Government saw nothing which rendered an accommodation hopeless. Spain on her side has, or professes to have, grievances to plead against France, of similar intermeddling with her people and her army. She alleges that France has encouraged dissension and disaffection at Madrid, and that she even, by money and other means, fomented and stipulated the tumult of the 7th July.

Such mutual recriminations appeared to the British Government to furnish the elements of a discussion, in which something would be to be explained on either side; and in which reconciliation might at last result from mutual compromise and concession.

In this state of things the mediation of Great Britain was offered; and, under these impressions, her good offices have been employed. The question so far turned, principally, if not exclusively, upon facts;—there was no declaration of principle absolutely precluding negotiation. But as the nature of the present political institutions of Spain was put forward, as being of itself a source of danger to France, and, at the same time, as susceptible of modifications by the

voluntary act of Spain herself, which would remove the apprehension of that danger, and consequently open the way to amicable discussion on other points;—the British Government endeavoured to learn from France, what were the modifications in the Spanish Constitution, which would give to France an assurance of safety and tranquillity; and they have not hesitated to advise, at Madrid, an attempt to bring about some such modifications; or at least the declaration of a disposition to consider of them when the time should be more propitious for a change.

## MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending 24th May.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.
Wheat.....	59	10
Rye .....	32	7
Barley .....	34	2
Oats .....	27	4
Beans .....	34	5
Peas .....	36	9

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, 24th May.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.	Average.	s.	d.
Wheat..	8,139	for	26,314	16	0	64	7
Barley..	1,677	...	3,132	8	4	37	4
Oats ..	6,963	...	10,709	17	9	30	9
Rye .....	1	...	1	12	0	32	0
Beans ..	2,092	...	3,651	6	6	34	10
Peas....	138	...	260	2	3	37	8

MONDAY, June 2.—Last week's supply of all descriptions of Corn was very large, but this morning the quantities fresh at market were



inconsiderable. Wheat was reported cheaper on Wednesday and Friday last, but the prices obtained to-day are rather better than last Monday's quotations for the best samples.

In Flour there is no alteration. There is so little doing in Barley that it can hardly be said to support last week's prices. Beans also sell very heavily, and are rather lower. Both Boiling and Grey Peas sell at an advance of 1s. per quarter.

The immense arrival of nearly 100,000 quarters of Oats during the past three weeks, has caused them to be considerably reduced, and they are 1s. to 2s. per quarter lower than last Monday, at which decline a good many sales have been made.

Quarters of English Grain, &c. arrived Coastwise, from May 26 to May 31, inclusive.

Wheat... 8,935	Pease.....152
Barley....2,725	Tares..... 50
Malt.....4,309	Linseed.... —
Oats....25,737	Rape..... 30
Rye..... —	Brank..... 45
Beans... 1,597	Mustard.... 20

Various Seeds, 190; and Hemp 50 qrs.

Flour 16,668 sacks.

From Ireland. — Wheat 5; Barley 110; and Oats 11,706 qrs.

Foreign. Wheat 220; Linseed 3852; and Brank 70 qrs.

Flour 1,050 barrels.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, June 2d.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	3	8	to	4 8
Mutton.....	3	8	—	4 4
Veal.....	3	10	—	4 6
Pork.....	3	8	—	4 8
Lamb.....	4	6	—	5 6

Beasts....1,630	Sheep...20,480
Calves...265	Pigs.....300

NEWGATE (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	3	0	to	4 0
Mutton.....	3	0	—	4 2
Veal.....	3	0	—	5 0
Pork.....	2	8	—	4 4
Lamb.....	4	0	—	6 0

LEADENHALL (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef.....	2	6	to	4 0
Mutton.....	3	0	—	4 0
Veal.....	3	0	—	5 8
Pork.....	2	8	—	4 4
Lamb.....	4	0	—	5 4

City, 4 June 1823.

BACON.

This article is still advancing in price, in spite of every disadvantage: heavy stocks on hand, very little consumption, and great supplies coming in. The quantity now coming in is nearly sufficient for the demand for consumption. By the last week's Waterford Port List, it appears that upwards of 10,000 flitches have just been shipped from that port alone, for the London market. Nevertheless the speculators will hold on, and probably cause a further advance; indeed, their holding is hardly to be considered as a matter of choice; for if any one considerable holder should attempt to sell out, except to some other holder, it would probably knock the price down 15 or 20 per cent. The weather being favourable for curing, many of the manufacturers will go on making up bacon for this market. —On board, 44s. —Landed, 46s. to 48s. —Dried, 50s. to 52s.

BUTTER.

The supplies of Dutch as well as of English are very plentiful. A little Irish has come into this market; but it costs 10s. per cwt.



too much, to be sold here without loss to the importers.—Dutch, 68s. to 70s. per cwt.—Dorset, 42s. to 46s.—York, 36s. to 40s. per firkin.

### CHEESE.

The trade is dull here; but the factors are buying briskly in the country.—Fine Old Cheshire, 60s. to 70s.—New, 48s. to 60s.—Coloured, 56s. to 63s.—Pale, 54s. to 60s.—Double Gloucester, 56s. to 62s.—Single, 53s. to 60s.—Fodder, 38s. to 44s.

### POTATOES.

#### SPITALFIELDS.—per Ton.

Ware ..... £ 2 10 to £ 4 5  
Middlings..... 1 10 — 2 0  
Chats..... 1 10 — 0 0  
Common Red.. 3 0 — 3 10  
Onions 0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.

#### BOROUGH.—per Ton.

Ware..... £ 3 0 to £ 4 0  
Middlings..... 2 0 — 2 5  
Chats..... 1 15 — 2 0  
Common Red.. 2 10 — 3 5  
Onions.. 0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.

### HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay .... 60s. to 84s.  
                  Straw... 45s. to 50s.  
                  Clover.. 80s. to 90s.  
St. James's.—Hay..... 64s. to 92s.  
                  Straw... 42s. to 54s.  
                  Clover... 70s. to 92s.  
Whitechapel.—Hay .. 75s. to 90s.  
                  Straw. 40s. to 54s.  
                  Clover 80s. to 95s.

### Price of HOPS, per Cwt. in the BOROUGH.

Monday, June 2.—The accounts from the plantations state considerable damage done to the bines by flea, and fly has appeared and rapidly increased in many quarters. Duty laid against 110,000/. The market has improved both for New and Old Hops, and many have suspended sales for the present.

#### New Bags.

Kent.... £ 2 10 to £ 4 0  
Sussex.... 2 6 — 2 16  
Essex.... 0 0 — 0 0

Yearling Bags..... 30s.—40s.

#### New Pockets.

Kent.... £ 2 16 to £ 4 4  
Sussex.... 2 16 — 3 3  
Essex.... 0 0 — 0 0  
Farnham.. 0 0 — 0 0

Yearling Pockets... 35s.—45s.

Maidstone, May 29.—The hot weather this last week appears to have much improved the Hop plantations; many grounds which a few days back had scarcely a bine to be seen, are now tying, and look very promising. There is some fly about generally; but we consider they have not increased, at least in this neighbourhood. In the Weald of Kent and Sussex, it is said they have a much greater quantity.